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ABSTRACT

The document provides an analysis of relocation stability of individuals relocated during the March, 1970-November, 1971 contract period. Data bases were 1,244 applicants with screening information and 401 individuals with follow-up interview information. Approximately one half were in new areas six months after being relocated. Reasons for geographic and job stability are explored. Those relocatees who were the most stable after relocation were found to be the most mature, encumbered with responsibilities to others, experienced in prior mobility, and experiencing substantial improvements in life styles after relocation. Policy and research recommendations are provided for increasing relocation rates of those who can benefit from and be successful in relocation and for increasing likelihoods of relocation stability. Emphasis is placed upon additional research required to allow prediction of relocation outcomes prior to relocation of each individual client. (Author)

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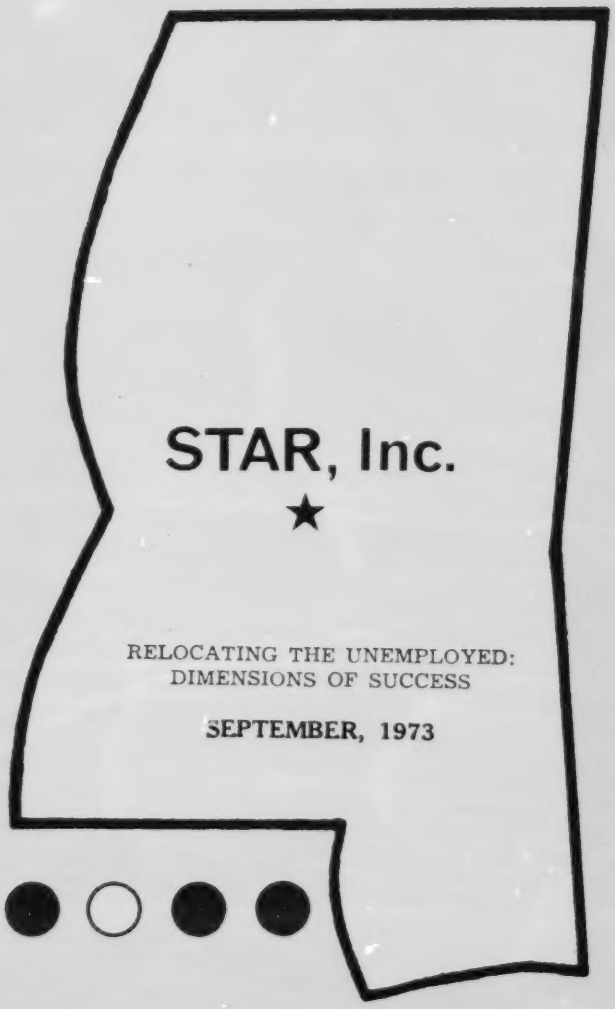

STAR, Inc.

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RELOCATING THE UNEMPLOYED:
DIMENSIONS OF SUCCESS

SEPTEMBER, 1973

Funded by U.S. Department of Labor

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RELOCATING THE UNEMPLOYED: DIMENSIONS OF SUCCESS

Mississippi Labor Mobility Project, STAR, Inc.

Hattiesburg, Mississippi

September, 1973

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An analysis of relocation stability of individuals relocated during the March, 1970 - November, 1971 contract period. Data bases were 1,244 applicants with screening information and 401 individuals with follow-up interview information. Approximately one half were in new area six months after being relocated. Reasons for geographic and job stability are explored. Those relocatees who were the most stable after relocation were found to be the most mature, encumbered with responsibilities to others, experienced in prior mobility, and experiencing substantial improvements in life styles after relocation. Policy and research recommendations are provided for increasing relocation rates of those who can benefit from and be successful in relocation and for increasing likelihoods of relocation stability. Emphasis is placed upon additional research required to allow prediction of relocation outcomes prior to relocation of each individual client.

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Preface

The Mississippi Labor Mobility Project, STAR, Incorporated, will complete its Department of Labor/Manpower Administration research work by the end of 1973. All phases of relocation operations were terminated in March, 1973. Approved to begin its relocation work in the Fall of 1966, the Project's original mission required the translation of ideas and operational questions into a workable system of providing subsidized unemployed worker relocation assistance. The assistance was to include staff services and financial assistance for relocating primarily unemployed disadvantaged workers from areas of poor social and economic opportunities to areas that showed promise of upward social and economic mobility. The basic premise was to promote social and economic mobility through subsidized geographic mobility.

The Project progressed through a number of operational learning phases which culminated in a partial three-state operation effort encompassing virtually all of the state of Mississippi, a large portion of the state of Arkansas, and the metropolitan area of Memphis, Tennessee. The primary labor market areas utilized throughout the history of the Project were the Little Rock, Arkansas; Memphis, Tennessee; and Jackson-Vicksburg and Gulf Coast, Mississippi, metropolitan areas along with the rapidly growing Northeast Mississippi area. Since its inception, the Project relocated some 2,500 workers along with their families.

Numerous reports on operational techniques and results were submitted to the Department of Labor/Manpower Administration. The major reports were the 1968 and 1970 annual reports in which relocation operations and outcomes were analyzed and a recommended operational handbook submitted in 1971. The present report is the first of a series of final reports oriented toward providing guidelines for a national subsidized worker relocation program.

In early 1972 the Project implemented a restructured work phase designed to answer indepth research questions related to factors that affected staying in the relocation areas and remaining employed. Data were collected for two time periods: (1) March, 1970 - November, 1971, and (2) December, 1971 - March, 1973. The data were collected to permit (1) costs/benefits studies of worker relocation, (2) analyses of the disadvantaged poor, (3) prediction of relocation success or failure, (4) assessment of employers' reactions to the use of relocated labor, and (5) program performance measures. The present report focuses upon data collected for Project clients during the 1970-1971 period and serves as a partial assessment of factors related to relocation success. As the first in the series of final reports, this report is suggestive of directions which will be further explored.

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ABSTRACT

The activities of the Mississippi Labor Mobility Project, STAR, Inc., during the March, 1970 - November, 1971 contract period are discussed and analyzed from the perspective of those factors related to relocation stability. Relocation stability is defined in two ways: (1) remaining in the demand area after relocation and (2) remaining on the job to which relocated. The analysis is placed in the context of the operations model utilized by the Project during that period. Data from two major sources are used: (1) screening information processed for 1,244 relocation applicants of some 1,450 screened during the contract period, and (2) 401 special follow-up interviews conducted from nine to twelve months after the last of the above relocatees had been moved to relocation jobs.

The Project achieved a relocation rate of 66 percent of those screened eligible and willing to relocate and 87 percent of those who were offered jobs in the demand area. Forty-eight (48) percent of the relocatees remained in the demand area six months or more. Thirty-seven (37) percent of the relocatees remained on their original relocation job, while 16 percent left the original job but remained in the area. Those who remained in the area were employed at the rate of 89 percent at the time of the special follow-up interview, while those who left the area were employed at the rate of 59 percent.

The major analysis centers around factors related to relocation stability with attention being placed upon motivation, work history and experiences, social relationships in the new area, economic aspects, and demographic variables. Stayers and leavers were differentiated in a number of instances in terms of these considerations. Stayers were likely to be married, older, better educated, more experienced with prior geographic mobility, socially mature, indebted, and motivated to work in order to utilize their prior work experience and/or training. Leavers were likely to be single, younger, not well educated, lacking in prior mobility experience, socially immature, free of indebtedness, and motivated by adventuresomeness. The stayers were likely to have their own means of transportation, to improve their standards of living, to find more satisfaction in their work. The leavers were more likely to have had to rely upon others for transportation, to have found no improvement in their standards of living via relocation, and to have found only moderate satisfaction in their work. The spouses of stayers were more likely to have found work when desired or necessary than were the spouses of the leavers. The stayers were more effective in establishing meaningful social relationships in the new area. The leavers were not very effective in this respect and continued to find social support from their families and friends in the home area. The stayers started at higher average hourly wages than the leavers and received higher average wage raises during the time they were in the area.

Policy and research recommendations based upon the analysis are presented in the last chapter. The policy recommendations were drawn from the conclusions of the analysis and suggested five major areas of importance: (1) family counseling and spouse job development, (2) solutions to distances between

housing and place of work for those without own means of transportation in the new area, (3) relocatee orientation regarding new area and job prior to relocation, (4) relocation of some "low risks" types of applicants, and (5) improvement of relocation effectiveness by (a) increasing the relocation rate and (b) more active development of higher paying jobs in a wider range of job markets. The research recommendations can be categorized into six major areas of need: (1) discerning obstacles to relocation, (2) effectiveness and efficiency criteria for relocation programs, (3) prediction of relocation success based upon information collected at the time of screening, (4) analysis of communities and employers in demand areas to allow prediction of relocation outcomes on the basis of the "demand area" concept and to discern more of the impact of the environment upon the relocatee, (5) job-search activities of those who leave their original relocation job, and (6) advisability of relocation linkages with training programs.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The major purpose of this report is to offer some policy recommendations based upon the relocation activities of the Mississippi Labor Mobility Project, STAF, Inc., during the contract period March 1, 1970, through November 30, 1971.[1] While the major thrust of the report is not evaluation, which will be the primary focus of the final report, occasional statements of an evaluative nature will be made where appropriate to provide support for the recommendations. The three major considerations or questions around which this report is presented are as follows: (1) How did the Project go about providing relocation services during the contract period? (2) Who got those relocation services? and (3) What impact or effect did the Project operations have upon the people provided the services? The major result of the analysis will be a set of preliminary policy recommendations, many of which will be investigated and modified by additional research.

To achieve the objectives stated above, the following format has been chosen: (1) Describe how the Project has relocated people in Mississippi, Arkansas, and the Memphis area; (2) Present and discuss profiles of populations of clients that were processed by the Project; (3) Analyze relocation outcomes[2] of those various populations; and (4) Suggest some preliminary directions for relocation policy and indicate where additional research is needed.

The basic idea of worker relocation is to provide financial and staff assistance to facilitate the geographical movement of unemployed workers to jobs. The purposes of such assistance are to make relocation a viable alternative to unemployment of the individual and to increase the efficiency of the labor market.[3] In the simplest of terms, an unemployed worker (and his family) is assisted in moving from an area of poor employment opportunities to an area of good employment opportunities; the major difference between relocation and migration of the unemployed worker is that with relocation he has a job prior to moving.

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[1]Summary data for relocation activities and outcomes during this period are found in Appendix Tables 1 and 2.

[2]Outcomes are the effects of relocation activities on the individual, his family, his community of origin, and his community of destination. This report will focus primarily, if not solely, upon the effects upon the individual and his family.

[3]Reducing the likelihood of unemployment for the individual and increasing the efficiency of the labor market are actually relatively immediate, narrow purposes of goals of relocation. Broader, more long-range goals include making the individual and his family more productive members of society, active in society (citizenship), and so on. Relocation is one possible way of affecting the economic security that makes productivity and citizenship possible.

Although the worker relocation process is quite complex, for operational purposes it can be divided into the following steps: (1) interviewing persons who need relocation assistance to see if they are willing to relocate and to discern if there are any obstacles to their relocation which can be alleviated by financial and staff assistance; (2) simultaneous development of job vacancies in other geographic areas in the event that relocation becomes desirable or advisable for the individual; (3) determining the eligibility of the individual ("potential relocatee") through the administration of various "screening" forms; (4) taking or sending the potential relocatee to job interview(s) in the potential area of destination; (5) if the individual is offered a job and he accepts the offer, moving him, his family, and personal effects to the new job area is achieved by providing money and staff resources to meet basic needs until relocation is completed; and (6) assisting with any problems that may require attention prior to, during, and after relocation---this assistance may involve counseling by program staff.

Relocatee Recruitment

Potential relocatees are contacted through several avenues: (1) door-to-door contact; (2) referral from social and manpower program agencies; (3) referral by friends; (4) referral by community leaders; and (5) self-referrals or walk-ins. The agency referral is the most frequently used source of potential relocatees, and, according to Project field staff reports, is the most reliable source of successful relocatees. Referral by friends seems to be the least productive in providing successful relocatees. This is a significant change from the 1968-1970 period when agency referrals were the least reliable for successful relocatees, while referrals from friends most often resulted in successful relocations.[4] No all people contacted will ultimately get relocation services.[5] The screening process determines eligibility for and the nature of possible services for those contacted. The major outcomes of the screening process are as follows: (1) ineligibility for relocation; (2) deferral of relocation/placement services until job training has been obtained; (3) eligibility for local placement (without relocation); and/or (4) immediate eligibility for relocation services.

Job Development

One of the most critical restraints within which the Project as well as other mobility programs have had to operate is the availability of job vacancies for which individuals can qualify (defined by the employer) and to which they can be relocated. While one segment of the program staff is contacting

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[4]P. 11, (Mississippi Labor Mobility Project, STAR, Inc., Final Report: 1970, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, 1970).

[5]During 1970-1971, approximately 60 percent of all those screened eligible and willing to relocate got not further than the screening stage. The majority of those 60 percent did not go for job interviews.

and screening potential relocatees, another is attempting to determine, discover, ferret out, and encourage job vacancies or slots in the prospective areas of relocation destination. Ideal areas for "job development" have been and are those with expanding labor market characteristics in conjunction with civic-cultural characteristics that are at least on par with those of the area of relocation origin. It is possible that one area may be expanding rapidly in terms of job vacancies, but the civic-cultural characteristics of the community may be highly undesirable to potential migrants; while job development is essential, it is not the only important consideration when determining "ideal" areas of relocation destination. Of course, if employment opportunities begin to decline in that "demand area", continued relocation to that area would result in a lower likelihood of relocation success. The "demand area" concept must be flexible enough to allow for changes in labor market and civic-cultural conditions.

Relocation Eligibility

Determination of relocation eligibility is one of the most important activities as far as efficient operation of a worker relocation program is concerned. It is possible to increase relocation rates as a result of efficient screening, but the persons screened out may include individuals (and their families) that would gain the most from relocation; on the other hand, it is also highly possible that good relocation risks might move on their own, unassisted by government expenditures. A mobility program must achieve wide coverage of those most in need of relocation services, yet at the same time obtain a high payoff in terms of efficiency. One technique for screening potential relocatees is presented in the appendix to this report; analyses of the relationships between program effectiveness and efficiency are postponed until the final report.

Relocation Assistance: Job Interview

Two of the major problems for the unemployed individual that impact more upon the disadvantaged unemployed are (1) lack of reliable information about job vacancies and (2) lack of financial means to go for a job interview, should that interview be in a different area. To help overcome these barriers as well as others, Project staff members either take the potential relocatee for the job interview, or they send him with the understanding that another staff person will meet him at the point of destination and make sure the interview takes place. Sometimes the individual may be taken for several interviews in the same town or in different towns.[6] The expenses involved in his interview trips are paid for by the Project. Several of the positive aspects of this form of job development and interviewing is that the individual will know whether he has a job waiting for him in the area of destination, that he will not have to move without a job, and that he has had at least a brief look at the community of which he might become a resident.

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[6]The majority of the potential relocatees in this Project were taken for only one interview in only one area; interviews in different areas were rare.

Relocation Assistance: Financial Support

If an individual accepts a job offer and decides to relocate and requires further relocation assistance, that assistance is provided in the form of moving, expense money, helping close-out old area residence, location of suitable housing in the new area, getting utilities connected, in addition to other supportive staff services. Once the relocatee is in the demand area, he continues to receive staff supportive services until relocation is completed, although some staff members maintain contact after the relocation process is terminated.[7] While the relocatee, with dependents, is separated from his family, he receives separate maintenance allowances up to a maximum of two weeks. In addition, he receives some cost-of-living money to partially defray his expenses during the first weeks in the new area.[8]

Relocation Assistance: Follow-up (Supportive) Services

Even though the relocatee is physically relocated and working on a new job, the relocation services are not necessarily terminated. Project staff make post-move contacts to see how the relocatee (and his family) is adjusting to the new job and the new area, what problems are being encountered that might endanger the relocation stability of the relocatee, and if any assistance in making the necessary adjustments to the new job and area is required. Such follow-up services have varied in scope and frequency from one area to another, more often than not, depending upon the degree to which the field staff maintain close, informed relationships with the relocatees in their respective area(s).

The preceding description of the relocation process as carried out by the Mississippi Labor Mobility Project, STAR, Inc., is intended to provide a cursory view of the kinds of activities Project staff are engaged in and the kinds of major services a relocatee might expect to receive. A much more detailed description is available in past Project reports and handbooks.

One of the objectives of this experimental/demonstration labor mobility project has been to provide policy guidelines for who gets what services.[9]

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[7]Termination of relocation in a financial/administrative sense is more restricted than termination of relocation in a supportive sense, in that, while the relocatee may receive all financial assistance due him, supportive services may continue afterwards.

[8]Settling-in allowances range from $72 for single relocatees without dependents to a maximum of $568 for married relocatees with four or more children; for relocatees, single and married, with dependents who do not move their dependents with them when they go on (relocate) the new job, qualify for a maximum of $142 separate maintenance allowance, paid in two weekly allotments of $71; 1st week cost-of-living allowances are $20 for single relocatees and $40 for married relocatees.

[9]How services are delivered is dealt with in a forthcoming report on "systems design." A recapitulation of this report with any subsequent modifications will be included in the final report.

To this date, the target population for relocation services in the three-state area of the MLMP, STAR, Inc., has been about equally distributed between persons living in rural areas and those living in small towns, with the majority exhibiting characteristics of rural populations.[10] The employment history of those eligible for relocation services must have included at least six weeks of unemployment prior to relocation or underemployment in the form of seasonal or part-time work prior to relocation. Those on layoff were immediately eligible for relocation.[11] With the exception of a minimum age of 18 years, demographic characteristics were of no importance in affecting eligibility for relocation. While prior work experience was considered to be useful in adjusting to a new job in a new area, persons with as well as without prior work experience were relocated. And while work-related training or education was also considered to be useful for the same reason(s), many people without this kind of training were relocated, although the Project has maintained some experimental and policy interests in relocation-training programs linkages.[12] To summarize the eligibility criteria, while various types of people with various types of work histories were emphasized or stressed, in actuality universalistic eligibility criteria with the exception of the minimum age and length of prior unemployment criteria were operative. That universal criteria should prevail is of consideration in this report in that specification of eligibility requirements for an effective and efficient relocation program will be analyzed and recommended.

In summary, this report will provide some ideas of what the Project has done so far and how well it has done its job. Although it is realized that this is a unique project and its experiences cannot be transferred wholesale, a great deal of what has been learned here should be useful in improving other such relocation efforts.

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[10] A small percentage of the population were moved from or near large metropolitan areas (Little Rock, Jackson, and Memphis).

[11] P. 4 in Unemployment Insurance Service, Procedures for the Payment of Relocation Assistance Allowances under MDTA as Amended, Washington, D. C.: U.S. Department of Labor Manpower Administration, Bureau of Employment Security, October, 1965.

[12] Especially in view of the formal linkage with the Arkansas Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) since mid-1969, and our heavy reliance upon Ingalls Shipyards for placement of MDTA trainees processed for relocation (Ingalls has historically hired about 20 percent of our relocatees).

Chapter 2: Report Data Base

The data utilized in this report came from two principal sources: (1) 1,244 screening records of Project applicants, and (2) 401 follow-up interviews conducted from six to twelve months after the relocatees began their relocation jobs. Throughout the report the data sources will be identified as "Screening" for the screening records and "Survey I" or "Survey II" for the follow-up interviews.

The 1,244 screening records, from which were drawn the follow-up samples, constituted 86 percent of all screening records collected by Project staff during the 1970-1971 contract period. Screening information was regularly collected for all persons who were considered likely candidates for relocation. The information in the screening records was used to determine the eligibility of the applicants for relocation in addition to discerning whether there were job vacancies compatible with the applicants' work/training background. Screening information included the following kinds of data: (1) standard socio-demographic data such as age, sex, race, marital status, size of family, education, etc.; (2) previous wage prior to becoming unemployed; (3) work history; (4) weeks unemployed; (5) previous contact(s) with manpower training programs; (6) availability of personal means of transportation; and (7) financial assets and debits.

The 1,244 individuals for whom screening information was coded and processed were divided into four groups for the purpose of drawing follow-up samples: (1) 421 individuals who were determined to have been in the demand area at least six months prior to the follow-up interviews; (2) 256 individuals who left the demand area prior to six months after being hired; (3) 192 individuals who left the demand area prior to one month after being hired; and (4) 375 individuals who were screened for relocation but were not relocated. Lists of the individuals in each of the four groups were drawn up and from them names were drawn at random. The initial sampling goal was interviews with a minimum of 75 persons within each of the groups. This goal was achieved for the last three groups, but the final size of the first group sample was 171, or more than double the original goal. This oversampling was done in an effort to achieve a sizeable sample which could be intensively analyzed to provide detailed discussions of those who stayed in the demand area after being hired. Comparative analysis of the two leaver groups (#2 and #3) in terms of their screening and follow-up information led to the conclusion that, because they were not significantly different, they could be combined together under the rubric of "leavers." Thus the final stayer sample comprised 171 individuals, the leaver sample 155 individuals, and the nonrelocatee sample 75 individuals for a total of 401.

The follow-up interviews were comprised of 133 items or questions grouped into two major sections hereafter called Survey I and Survey II: (1) Survey I---questions about relocation work experiences, wages, cost of living, level of living, civic participation, kinds and number of jobs held, and employment status; and (2) Survey II---a battery of items called "Social-Psychological Index" in which five major clusters of variables were explored: work/job cluster, world-view/self-concept cluster, community/friendship cluster, family cluster, and a miscellaneous cluster. Both sets of questions, Survey I and

Survey II, were considered to permit assessment of Project impact upon relocatees' life styles, work experiences, and reasons for staying in or leaving the demand area.

As is standard procedure when sampling is conducted, the representativeness of the three follow-up samples was tested. Utilizing a data retrieval linkage system developed by Project consultants, matching the 401 individuals sampled with their screening information was possible. The 401 individuals were compared with those not included in the sample in terms of their screening information. Statistical tests (Chi-square and analysis of variance) conducted at the 5 percent significance level indicated that the stayer sample (N=171), the leaver sample (N=155), and the nonrelocatee sample (N=75) did not significantly differ from their respective subpopulations within the 1,244 master list of Project applicants. Consequently, the bulk of the analysis in this report is based upon those individuals in the follow-up samples due to (1) the extensiveness of the data for those individuals and (2) the representativeness of those samples.

Chapter 3: Relocation Objectives and Outcomes

Descriptive and explanatory evaluation will be of value in assessing the relocation outcomes of Project applicants. First, the objectives of subsidized worker relocation will be specified. Criteria and measures for assessing or evaluating relocation that might be utilized will be briefly outlined. Finally, depending upon program emphasis and/or availability of data, the major accomplishments of the Project will be discussed in summary form. The major outcomes or results to be discussed will be in terms of staying in the Demand Area or relocation stability.

In order to explain relocation outcomes, what the Project was to have done must be indicated, i.e., its objectives, who was to have benefited from Project services, and what resources the Project had available to provide those services to those populations. What the Project has accomplished may be considered in terms of the following: (1) getting people to move from areas of low employment opportunities to areas of higher employment opportunities; (2) promoting geographic stability once relocated; and (3) improving life styles as a consequence of geographic stability.

Relocation

Enhancing efficient geographic mobility must begin by offering work (and other things) to those who are presently unemployed. Mobility projects are unique among manpower programs in that (1) they take, as it were, people to jobs already available and tentatively allocated for the particular individual, and (2) they do not provide training which may be needed. The relocatee does not migrate from one area of unemployment to another area of unemployment---there is a job already waiting for him when he arrives.

Approximately 29 percent of the relocatees were unemployed at the time of screening because of layoffs and 32 percent had had no prior work experience; the number of persons re-entering the labor force was not determinable with present data. The average length of unemployment for Project applicants was 19.3 weeks during the 52 weeks prior to screening, while that of relocatees was 18.8 weeks of average unemployment. Average duration of unemployment for the national unemployed labor force has been 8-9 weeks in recent years.[13] Average duration of unemployment for unemployed Mississippians during 1970 was approximately 12 weeks in 1970.[14] The Project has processed and relocated persons with an average duration of unemployment longer than either the national or state unemployed labor forces.

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[13]Bureau of the Census, The Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1970, Washington, D. C.: Department of Commerce, 1969, p. 213.

[14]Bureau of the Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Mississippi, 1970 Census of Population, Washington, D. C.: Department of Commerce, 1972, p. 146.

The Project relocated 87 percent of those who were offered a job, this being 66 percent of the people screened in.[15] Approximately 60 percent of those who did not relocate either refused to go for a job interview or decided against relocating prior to being invited (by field staff) to go for an interview. Approximately 13 percent went for a job interview but were not offered a job.[16]

Geographical Stability

Promoting geographical stability once relocated is an additional requirement for successful relocation in that one of the basic premises of worker relocation is that the individual is moved from an area of low or virtually nonexistent job opportunities (Supply Area) to one of high job opportunities (Demand Area), and if the worker leaves the Demand Area, he will likely return to the Supply Area of poor opportunities and back to unemployment. The "stay rates" of the 869 relocatees at various points in time after going to work in the demand area were as follows:

(1) 88% stayed two weeks or more,

(2) 78% stayed one month or more,

(3) 70% stayed two months or more, and

(4) 53% stayed six months or more.

Employment

The next question is whether or not those unemployed persons have been able to maintain employment once relocated. A corollary question is whether or not those who relocated have a better chance of maintaining employment than those who did not relocate at all.

The extent to which relocatees have been able to either maintain employment or be otherwise active in the labor force after relocation can be approached in three ways. These three approaches require an understanding

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[15]These data differ somewhat from those presented elsewhere in the report; the differences are due to the computations being based upon data from the November, 1971, monthly progress report, a copy of which was routinely sent to the mobility projects officer in the Manpower Administration in Washington. That monthly report shows that (1) 1,453 persons were screened for relocation during the 1970-1971 contract period, (2) 1,102 applicants were offered a job, and (3) 960 applicants were relocated; 66 percent of those screened in were relocated (960/1453), and 87 percent of those offered a job were relocated (960/1102). The data reported in the analysis of the 1,244 screening records overstates by 3 percent the "relocation rate" of the Project.

[16]Follow-up data suggest that about 60 percent of those not offered jobs were not offered a job because there were none available for them; this is based upon the responses of those in our follow-up sample, not upon interviews with employers.

of what is meant by employed, unemployed, labor force, and labor force participation.[17] Employed persons are those persons who are either working or have jobs but are not at work. Unemployed persons are those persons who (a) are "neither at work" or with a job but not at work, (b) are looking for work, and (c) are available to accept a job. The labor force includes all persons classified employed or unemployed in accordance with the definitions above. Labor force participation refers to the number of a particular population group who are in the labor force. The unemployment rate is simply the percentage of the labor force that is unemployed.

With the above concepts in mind the three approaches for judging the influence of relocation on labor force status are as follows: (1) Relocatee employment as a percent of the relocatee labor force and relocatee non-labor force; (2) Relocatee employment as a percent of the labor force compared with nonrelocatees; and (3) Relocatee labor force participation rate as compared with the participation rate of nonrelocatees. These rates can also be compared with national and state labor statistics.

Table 1, which is based on the follow-up samples and data, shows the different employment statuses of selected groups of Project applicants.

Table 1: Relocation and Employment Statuses of Project Applicants (Survey I)

	Relocation Status			
Employment Status	Stayers	Leavers	Relocatees	Nonrelocatees
Employed	153	91	244	46
Unemployed	18	64	82	29
Total Applicants (N)	171	155	326	75

The relocatees were employed at a rate of 75 percent of the total as compared with 61 percent of the nonrelocatees, for a 14 percent difference. Since relocation involves a move to another community or labor market, and since approximately one half of the relocatees did not stay in the area of relocation, it would be of interest to see if the employment rates of those who stayed and those who left were similar or different. Indeed, those who

[17] Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics: United States Summary, Washington, D. C.: Department of Commerce, 1972, appendix pages 15-16.

remained in the area of relocation were employed at a rate of 89 percent while those who left were employed at a rate of 59 percent.

However, lumping all stayers together is somewhat misleading if we want to evaluate the employment outcomes related to staying in the area; the stayers actually consisted of two groups: (1) those who remained on the original relocation job (68 percent of the stayers) and (2) those who stayed in the relocation area but left the original relocation job (32 percent of the stayers). Table 2 shows that the larger group of stayers were employed at a rate of 100 percent, while the smaller group were employed at a rate of 65 percent; thus we have the aggregate employment rate of 89 percent for the stayers.

Table 2: Employment Status of Various Groups of Relocatees (Survey I)

Group	Employed	Unemployed	Total
Stayed in Demand Area	153	18	171
---Stayed on Job	119	0	119
---Left Original Job	34	18	52
Left Demand Area	91	64	155
Total	244	82	326

Employment status may be considered from another perspective, that of increasing labor force participation and increasing the number of persons who are working or desire employment (the actual labor force). However, a small increase may not be sufficient to justify the costs of relocation. Table 3 illustrates the distribution of selected groups of Project applicants according to their labor force status.

Stayers had a labor force participation rate of 94 percent, the leavers a rate of 90 percent, the relocatees 92 percent, and the nonrelocatees, 85 percent. Statistical tests indicated no significant differences among any of the groups in terms of participation rates; consequently, it cannot be said that relocation per se is related to increasing labor force participation rates. If increasing the participation rates is an objective of subsidized relocation, the data do not show that the objective has been achieved.

Table 3: Relocation and Labor Force Status
(Survey I)

	Relocation Status			
Labor Force Status	Stayers	Leavers	Relocatees	Nonrelocatees
Employed	153	91	244	46
Unemployed, Looking for Work	7	48	55	16
Unemployed, In Training	0	0	0	2
Labor Force	160	139	299	64
Unemployed, Not Looking for Work	7	16	23	11
Unemployed, Other	4	0	4	0
Non-labor Force	11	16	27	11
Total Applicants (N)	171	155	326	75

Since relative size of the labor force or labor force participation appears unrelated to relocation, it can be asked if the employment rate of the labor force is increased via relocation. Again, using the above table, relocatees were employed at a rate of 82 percent of the relocatee labor force, and the nonrelocatees employed at a rate of 72 percent of the nonrelocatee labor force. Again, statistical tests indicated no significant difference between the relocatees as a group and the nonrelocatees in terms of these employment rates. However, as in the case of employment rates calculated as a percentage of Project applicants in each relocation category, there was a great deal of difference between the rates of the two major groups of relocatees, the stayers and the leavers (96 percent employment for the stayers vs 66 percent employment for the leavers), and similarly for stayers vs nonrelocatees (96 percent vs 72 percent respectively). Consequently, the conclusion might be the same as that drawn from the other employment data, that is, higher employment possibilities are related to staying in the area of relocation.

Life Styles

Regarding the matter of whether or not family incomes have been increased via relocation, relocatees as a group experienced substantial wage gains in the Demand Area. On the average, relocatees who had work experience prior to screening earned about $75.00 per week in their last reported job prior to becoming unemployed in the Supply Area, but averaged about $95.00 beginning wages per week in the Demand Area--an average gain of $20.00 per week.[18] On the other hand, nonrelocatees with prior work experience had earned about $77.00 per week prior to screening but averaged only $78.00 per week when interviewed at the time of the follow-up. In fact, the average starting weekly wage of those nonrelocatees who were working at the time of follow-up was $72.00 or about $23.00 less per week than the beginning wages of the relocatees. Those relocatees who stayed in the Demand Area and were employed at the time of the follow-up were earning an average of $110.00 per week, or about $15.00 increase over beginning Demand Area job wages and about $35.00 per week increase over pre-screening employment wages. On the other hand, those relocatees who left the Demand Area went back to jobs paying about the same as they were earning before relocation and were doing no better in terms of average weekly wages than those who did not relocate.

Another consideration about incomes of individual relocatees is their total family income, if they are married. The spouses of many relocatees went to work in the Demand Area after relocation, yet their wage income data were not collected. However, it is possible to indirectly get at the extent to which the income of the relocatees was adequate by (1) looking at how many of the spouses of relocatees were working after relocation and (2) examining the reasons given as to why those spouses went to work in the Demand Area.

The table below, using individuals in the follow-up sample who could be matched back with the screening population, illustrates the extent to

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[18] No allowances made for differences in cost of living, unearned income, etc.

which spouses of both relocatees and nonrelocatees were working at the time of screening and at the time of follow-up. The difference in totals between the two time periods for both groups is an indication of marriages contracted after screening or possibly some small amount of inaccuracy in data collection and recording regarding marital status.

Table 4: Relocation Status of Married Applicants and Spouse Employment (Survey I)

	Relocation Status			
	Relocatee		Nonrelocatee	
Employment Status of Spouse	N	%	N	%
At Time of Screening	157	100%	31	100%
---Employed	25	16%	8	26%
---Unemployed	132	84%	23	74%
At Follow-up	175	100%	39	100%
---Employed	64	37%	13	33%
---Unemployed	109	63%	26	67%

It is significant that, whereas 16 percent of the relocatee spouses were working prior to screening, 37 percent were working at the time of follow-up. One benefit of relocation is that unemployed women can now work and earn income in the new area. The percentage of working spouses of nonrelocatees at the time of screening is higher than that for relocatee spouses. At the time of follow-up, both groups of spouses were employed at about the same rate. Whether spouses could have gotten work or not in the Supply Area if they had not relocated is not discernible at this time. Also presently undiscernible is if some of those who were working before relocation left the labor force after relocation. One fact that stands out from the data regarding the work history of the spouse is that, if the spouse was working prior to relocation, she (he) usually did not want to relocate.

Another indication as to whether or not family satisfaction improved after relocation is whether or not spouses who worked after relocation did so because they preferred to or because working was considered an economic necessity. Thirty-seven (37) percent of relocatee spouses were working because they preferred to as compared with 15 percent of the nonrelocatee spouses. Fifty-two (52) percent of relocatee spouses were working to "help meet expenses," and 11 percent were working because relocatee was "unemployed;" comparable figures for the nonrelocatee spouses were 77 percent and 8 percent respectively. Without some detailed analysis of the characteristics of

relocatee spouses and their family economic situation before and after relocation, not much if anything can be said about the significance of the percentage who were working because they preferred to work.

As a final commentary on the Project's impact on changes in the incomes and life styles of relocatees, the following table shows some of the major results of the "Social-Psychological Index" administered at the time of follow-up:

Table 5: Life Styles of Project Applicants as Reflected in Their Standard of Living (Percentage Positive Responses to Selected Items in Survey II)

Item	Stayers (N=171)	Leavers (N=155)	Relocatees (N=326)	Nonrelocatees (N=75)
1. Income sufficient to meet normal family expenses	79%	56%	69%	44%
2. Present income sufficient to meet needs	72%	46%	60%	34%
3. Present housing adequate	91%	68%	81%	73%
4. Can live way desired in present situation	64%	41%	53%	42%

Relocatees as a group appear to be better off, or at least perceive such, than those who did not relocate. In all of the items in the above table the leavers were likely to have responses more similar to those of nonrelocatees than to those of the stayers. That this is the case is partially due to the fact that the vast majority of the leavers returned to their home area, back to situations and conditions that affected them in ways similar to the effects upon the nonrelocatees.

In summary, the data presented so far seem to indicate that relocatees are better off by having moved to and stayed in areas of better work and social opportunities. In spite of the apparent improvements in income and life styles, it is not yet possible to conclude that these improvements would not have occurred if the people had moved unassisted by the Project. Only thirty-four (34) percent of those who stayed in the Demand Area over six months indicated a willingness to return to the Supply Area if suitable employment were available; on the other hand, a larger proportion (77%) of those who returned to the Supply Area prior to six months indicated their

willingness to relocate again.[19] In spite of the approximately fifty (50) percent return rate of the relocatees, ninety-three (93) percent of all the relocatees interviewed were satisfied with relocation (i.e., their decision to relocate).

In this chapter were presented some of the major relocation outcomes of Project relocatees. What follows in the remainder of the report is an indepth analysis of (1) for whom and why the results were obtained, and (2) how the results can provide guidelines for future operation and research of the Project as well as for a national worker relocation program. The analysis will center upon possible causes, benefits, and costs of relocation stability.

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[19] Possibly a reflection of the high incidence of unemployment among the returnees.

Chapter 4: Analysis of Relocation Stability

The analysis of relocation stability will consist of the analysis of factors related to the decision to stay in the demand area. The decision to stay in the demand area is contingent upon many factors that the relocatee must consider: (1) why he relocated; (2) his work history prior to relocation and his orientation or attitudes toward and assessment of the conditions at his place of work in the new area; (3) the nature of social relationships established while in the area; and (4) economic costs and rewards of staying in the area.

The Relocatees

Before analyzing the dimensions of relocation stability, it is necessary that the general characteristics of the relocatee population be delineated. Table 6 illustrates some of the defining characteristics of the Project applicant population and the relocatee population. It is clear that the relocatee population is quite similar to the Project population from which the relocatees came. However, this comparison does not indicate whether some types of individuals were more likely to be relocatees than other types of individuals. Column 5 indicates the "relocation rates" or likelihoods of relocation of the Project population according to a given characteristic. Taking 70 percent as the norm, we see that (1) males and females are about equally likely to relocate; (2) blacks and whites are equally likely to relocate; (3) nonmarrieds and marrieds are about equally likely to relocate; (4) the young are more likely to relocate than those older; (5) the likelihood of relocation increases with the level of education; (6) the likelihood of relocation decreases with the length of unemployment prior to screening for relocation; and (7) those with small families (one or two dependents) are much more likely to relocate than those with no dependents or those with over two dependents.

National mobility statistics indicated that males, whites, singles, the young, the better educated, the unemployed, and those with small families are most likely to migrate.[20] With the exception of the education, age, and family-size variables, the Project relocatees were not very representative of the national migratory population.

That the likelihood of relocation decreases with the length of unemployment is more than likely accounted for by a high correlation between age and length of unemployment. In addition, many of the singles were either recently out of school or manpower training programs and therefore had experienced relatively short periods of unemployment prior to screening.

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[20]Bureau of the Census, Mobility of the Population of the United States: March 1970 to March 1971, Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, 1972; Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1970, Washington, D. C.: Department of Commerce, 1970, p.33; and Alan L. Sorkin, "Education, Migration, and Negro Unemployment," Social Forces, 47(March, 1969), pp. 265-274.

Table 6: Project Population and Relocatee Characteristics Data
(All Percentages Rounded)

	Project Population		Relocatee Population		% of Column (1)
	Number (1)	% (2)	Number (3)	% (4)	(5)
Total Group	1244	100%	869	100%	70%
Sex:	1244	100%	869	100%	70%
Male	1122	90%	782	90%	70%
Female	122	10%	87	10%	71%
Race:	1239	100%	868	100%	70%
Black	693	56%	486	56%	70%
White	546	44%	382	44%	70%
Marital Status:	1244	100%	869	100%	70%
Nonmarried	678	54%	465	54%	69%
Married	566	46%	404	46%	71%
Age:	1241	100%	867	100%	70%
18-20 years	387	31%	279	32%	72%
21-30 years	642	52%	457	53%	71%
30 years and over	212	17%	131	15%	62%
Education:	1238	100%	866	100%	70%
0-8 years	263	21%	171	20%	65%
9-11 years	394	32%	275	32%	70%
12 years or more	581	47%	420	48%	72%
Length of Unemployment	1244	100%	869	100%	70%
No unemployment	356	29%	253	29%	71%
1-8 weeks	347	28%	245	28%	71%
9-16 weeks	177	14%	130	15%	73%
17-28 weeks	142	11%	97	11%	68%
29-51 weeks	116	9%	77	9%	66%
52 weeks or more	106	9%	67	8%	63%
Number of Dependents	1242	100%	868	99%	70%
None	617	50%	413	48%	67%
One	199	16%	150	17%	75%
Two	156	12%	123	14%	79%
Three	105	8%	71	8%	68%
Four	58	5%	39	4%	67%
Five	46	4%	30	3%	65%
Six or more	61	5%	42	5%	69%

Having outlined some of the distinguishing characteristics of the relocatees, we now turn to an analysis of the two subgroups of relocatees--the stayers and the leavers. Our objective is to determine the factors related to relocation stability or staying in the demand area. The general areas to be explored are (1) demographic characteristics that differentiate the two groups, (2) their motivations for relocation, (3) their work orientations and experiences, (4) the impact of social relationships upon stability, and (5) economic factors related to stability. Data for the analysis of the first two areas will be primarily from the information collected at the time of screening for relocation, while the data for the other areas will be primarily from the two follow-up surveys conducted after relocation.

A. Demographic Characteristics

While the relocatees were quite similar to the nonrelocatees (Table 6), there were numerous differences between the stayers and the leavers. Tables 7 and 8 show some of the characteristics of the stayers and leavers. It can be seen that the stayers and leavers are not differentiated on the basis of race and length of unemployment. However, they were differentiated on the basis of the following: (1) females were more likely to be stayers than were males; (2) marrieds were more likely to be stayers than were nonmarrieds; (3) those with more years of education were more likely to be stayers than those with less; (4) the likelihood of staying increased with the age of the relocatee; and (5) the likelihood of staying increased with family size.

B. Motivation to Relocate as a Factor in Relocation Stability

One of the reasons for staying in the demand area may be that the relocatee was attracted to the area and to relocation, as it were, because of undesirable factors in his home community and desirable factors of the demand area community. Table 9 shows the reasons given by the relocatees for applying for relocation services. Those who applied primarily because of their unemployment were more likely to be leavers than stayers, while those who gave other reasons were more likely to be stayers. Of special note are those who wanted to use their training; the ratio of stayers to leavers was almost 4 to 1. It appears that being unemployed was not a strong factor in preventing a return to where the relocatee had been unemployed prior to relocation.

Intensity of Motivation

Intensity of motivation or interest in relocation is another dimension worthy of consideration here. Table 10 presents the relationship between the number of times applied for relocation services (intensity) and relocation stability. We see that those who applied more than once, although probably motivated, were not likely to be successful in relocation, that is, they were harder to place in jobs or that they were harder to please in terms of finding acceptable jobs.

Table 11 looks at motivation intensity from another perspective--that of the number of job interviews the relocatee went to before relocating.

Table 7: Characteristics of Relocatee Stayers (Screening)

	Relocatees		Stayers		% of Column (1)
	Number (1)	% (2)	Number (3)	% (4)	(5)
Total Group	869	100%	421	100%	48%
Sex:	869	100%	421	100%	48%
Male	782	90%	368	87%	47%
Female	87	10%	53	13%	61%
Race:	868	100%	421	100%	48%
Black	486	56%	210	50%	43%
White	382	44%	211	50%	55%
Marital Status:	869	100%	421	100%	48%
Nonmarried	465	54%	187	44%	40%
Married	404	46%	234	56%	58%
Age:	866	100%	418	99%	48%
18-20 years	279	32%	85	20%	30%
21-30 years	457	53%	256	61%	56%
31 years & over	130	15%	77	18%	59%
Education:	866	100%	419	100%	48%
0-8 years	171	20%	79	19%	46%
9-11 years	275	32%	105	25%	38%
12 years or more	420	48%	235	56%	56%
Length of Unemployment:	869	100%	421	99%	48%
No unemployment	253	29%	141	33%	56%
1-8 weeks	245	28%	116	28%	47%
9-16 weeks	130	15%	61	14%	47%
17-28 weeks	97	11%	42	10%	43%
29-48 weeks	77	9%	35	8%	45%
49 weeks or more	67	8%	26	6%	39%
Number of Dependents:	868	99%	421	100%	48%
None	413	48%	160	38%	39%
One	150	17%	90	21%	60%
Two	123	14%	66	16%	54%
Three	71	8%	36	8%	51%
Four	39	4%	24	6%	62%
Five	30	3%	21	5%	70%
Six or more	42	5%	24	6%	57%

Table 8: Characteristics of Relocatee Leavers
(Screening)

	Relocatees		Leavers		% of Column (1)
	Number (1)	% (2)	Number (3)	% (4)	(5)
Total Group	869	100%	448	100%	52%
Sex:	869	100%	448	100%	52%
Male	782	90%	414	92%	53%
Female	87	10%	34	8%	39%
Race:	868	100%	447	100%	52%
Black	486	56%	276	62%	57%
White	382	44%	171	38%	45%
Marital Status:	869	100%	448	100%	52%
Nonmarried	465	54%	278	62%	60%
Married	404	46%	170	38%	42%
Age:	866	100%	448	100%	52%
18-20 years	279	32%	194	43%	70%
21-30 years	457	53%	201	45%	44%
31 years and over	130	15%	53	12%	41%
Education:	866	100%	447	100%	52%
0-8 years	171	20%	92	21%	54%
9-11 years	275	32%	170	38%	62%
12 years	420	48%	185	41%	44%
Length of Unemployment:	869	100%	448	99%	52%
No unemployment	253	29%	112	25%	44%
1-8 weeks	245	28%	129	29%	53%
9-16 weeks	130	15%	69	15%	53%
17-28 weeks	97	11%	55	12%	57%
29-48 weeks	77	9%	42	9%	55%
49 weeks or more	67	8%	41	9%	61%
Number of Dependents:	868	99%	447	100%	52%
None	413	48%	253	57%	61%
One	150	17%	60	13%	40%
Two	123	14%	57	13%	46%
Three	71	8%	35	8%	49%
Four	39	4%	15	3%	38%
Five	30	3%	9	2%	30%
Six or more	42	5%	18	4%	43%

There were no differences between stayers and leavers in the number of pre-relocation job interviews. In view of this lack of difference and the relationship indicated in Table 10, it should be pointed out that an individual could apply for relocation without being taken for an interview or that he could refuse to go for a given interview. Therefore, it seems that, in general, the stayers and leavers were about equally motivated to relocate, while the basis (Table 10) of their motivation was different.

Familial Factors

An additional impetus to relocate and stay in the new area would be the enthusiasm or willingness of the spouse of married relocatees to make the initial move. Table 12 shows that spouse willingness to relocate had no relationship with stability after the initial move.

Having relatives or friends in another community often acts as an attraction for those considering a move to that community and as an incentive to stay once moved. Table 13 illustrates the relationship between having relatives in the new community and the likelihood to stay once relocated. Those who had relatives in the new community were much more likely to stay once relocated.

Part of the constellation of factors that "push" migrants from their home communities is the level of living that their income provides. The anticipation of higher income and an improvement in level of living "pulls" the migrant to new communities. Table 14 shows the various wage levels of the relocatees for the jobs they held immediately prior to relocation. Table 15 shows the starting wage of the relocatees in their new jobs; wage levels are discussed during the job interviews. Stayers and leavers were equally likely to have been earning the same wages prior to relocation; consequently, the economic pressures due to inadequate income were about equal from the standpoint of wages. On the other hand, those who were relocated to higher paying jobs were much more likely to stay than those relocated to lower paying jobs---the average starting wage was $2.56 per hour for the stayers and $2.22 for the leavers. The impact of starting wages is masked by the fact that at each wage interval up to $2.50 per hour there is a higher proportion of leavers than stayers. It is only at the $2.50+ level that the proportion shifts toward the stayers. Apparently, while a large proportion of the relocatees were willing to move to jobs that paid close to minimum wages ($1.60), they were not willing to stay long enough to get raises or those wages were not sufficiently attractive when other factors, both in the new community and the home community, were taken into account.

Employment Opportunities

Another source of motivation is that of local employment possibilities. While relocation programs operate on the premise that relocatees are recruited in areas of high unemployment and are sent to areas of low unemployment (but expanding employment), it is useful to determine if the relocatees themselves were reacting to this premise, that is to say, was the high unemployment in their home community an impetus to relocate and to stay in the new community once relocated? Tables 16 and 17 outline the reasons for unemployment prior

Table 9: Reason for Application for Relocation Services
(Survey I)

Reasons	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Unemployed	113	126	239
Doing seasonal work	15	15	30
To use training	34	9	43
Other	6	5	11
Total	168	155	323

Table 10: Times Applied for Relocation
(Survey I)

Applications	Stayers	Leavers	Total
One	157	130	287
Two	9	17	26
Three	0	4	4
Four or More	3	4	7
Total	169	155	324

Table 11: Number of Job Interviews
(Survey I)

Interviews	Stayers	Leavers	Total
One	109	97	206
Two	27	35	62
Three	17	16	33
Four or More	16	7	23
Total	169	155	324

Table 12: Spouse Willingness to Move
(Survey I)

Spouse Interest in Relocation	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	87	43	130
No	15	10	25
Total	102	53	154

Table 13: Relatives in the New Community (Demand Area)
(Survey I)

Relatives	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	98	49	147
No	65	80	145
Total	163	129	292

Table 14: Per Hour Wage for Last Job Prior to Relocation (Screening)

Wage Level	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Up to $1.50	70	81	151
$1.51 - $2.00	122	156	278
$2.01 - $2.50	30	35	65
$2.51 - $3.00	15	21	36
$3.01 and over	24	22	46
Total	261	315	576
Average Wage	$1.90	$1.84	$1.89

Table 15: Per Hour Starting Wage for Relocation (Screening)

Wage Level	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Up to $1.50	5	6	11
$1.51 - $2.00	196	238	434
$2.01 - $2.50	59	72	131
$2.51 - $3.00	46	43	89
$3.01 - $4.00	73	67	140
$4.01 and over	42	7	49
Total	421	433	854
Average Wage	$2.56	$2.22	$2.39

to relocation and the employment status of project applicants at the time of follow-up. From Table 16 we can see that those who were responding primarily to lack of experience in the labor force ("new entrants") and the unavailability of local jobs had among the highest relocation rates (77 percent and 98 percent, respectively). Those who might have been pressured by uncertainty of local employment (those on layoff) relocated at the rate of 66 percent. The new entrants and those unable to find local employment had the highest stay rates (59 percent and 71 percent, respectively). Those on layoff had a stay rate of 46 percent. It is unclear what the motives were of those who said they had been unemployed because of their illness; while their relocation rate was 86 percent, their stay rate was only 42 percent. The new entrants in the labor force, traditionally among the ranks of the unemployed, responded to the chance to move to a job and tended to remain in the new community. Those who had been laid off relocated at a higher rate, but their stay rate was average (near the overall average of 53 percent; it is possible their layoffs were not permanent and that they returned to their previous place of employment).

Whether employment possibilities were available back in the home community is indicated in Table 17 where the employment rates of the returnees is virtually the same as those who did not relocate at all. The few employment possibilities at home did not deter many from returning and may not have served as an impetus or "push" out of the home community for many relocatees. Yet it is quite possible that the low employment likelihoods for the returnees were considered as being less important than other factors such as family and friends, lower cost of living, "roots," and surroundings that were not strange.

Indebtedness and Savings

It can be argued that those with the most indebtedness (apart from home mortgages) would be more likely to move and to stay in the new community than those with less indebtedness. The amount of indebtedness did not play a significant part in "motivating" people to relocate (Table 18). Rather, the existence of indebtedness seems to have been more relevant than the amount (Table 19); the indebted, regardless of the amount of the indebtedness, were more likely to relocate than the unindebted, so they were likely to remain in the area once relocated (Tables 18 and 20).

The availability of substantial savings would not very likely result in a move to find work because (1) savings make unemployment more bearable and (2) savings would have to be spent on moving costs if a move were made. The availability of savings was unrelated to likelihood of relocation (Table 21); those who relocated without any savings were more likely to return home than those who had some savings prior to the move (Table 22). The relationship between relocation stability and existence of savings prior to relocation is confounded with the marital status of the relocatee (Table 23). For the single relocatees, the existence of savings had no relationship with stability, while with married relocatees, those with savings were more likely to stay than those without savings.

Table 16: Reasons for Unemployment of Project Applicants (Screening)

Reasons	Stayers	Leavers	Relocatees	Nonrelocatees
New Entrant in Labor Force	136	93	229	67
In Training	41	66	107	88
On Layoff	108	129	237	120
No Local Jobs Available	32	13	45	1
Illness	21	29	50	8
Other	55	91	146	88
Total	393	421	814	373

Table 17: Employment Status of Project Relocatees at Follow-up (Survey I)

Employment Status	Stayers	Leavers	Nonrelocatees
Employed	153	91	46
Unemployed	18	64	29
Total	171	155	75

Table 18: Degree of Indebtedness of Project Applicants Prior to Screening (Screening)

Amount of Debts	Stayers	Leavers	Relocatees	Nonrelocatees	Total
No debts	234	311	545	264	809
$1-$500	53	60	113	40	153
$501-$1,000	42	37	79	16	95
$1,001-$2,000	37	21	58	22	80
$2,000+	50	15	65	29	94
Total	416	444	860	371	1231
Average debt	$671	$293	$471	$452	$462

Table 19: Existence of Indebtedness of Project Applicants (Screening)

Indebtedness	Relocatees	Nonrelocatees	Total
Yes	315	107	422
No	545	264	809
Total	860	371	1231

Table 20: Existence of Indebtedness of Relocatees (Screening)

Indebtedness	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	182	133	315
No	234	311	545
Total	416	444	860

Table 21: Existence of Savings Among Project Applicants (Screening)

Savings	Relocatees	Nonrelocatees	Total
Yes	161	55	216
No	694	319	1013
Total	855	374	1229

Table 22: Existence of Savings Among Relocatees (Screening)

Savings	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	99	62	161
No	313	381	694
Total	412	443	855

Table 23: Savings, Marital Status, and Relocation Stability (Screening)

	Married		Single		
Savings	Stayers	Leavers	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	73	30	26	31	160
No	156	148	157	243	704
Total	229	178	183	274	864

Prior Mobility

One of the traditional indicators of an individual's propensity or likelihood to migrate should serve as an indicator of propensity to relocate: prior geographic mobility as measured by the number of prior changes of residences. Present data show that the relationship between prior mobility and likelihood of relocation is curvilinear. If the number of prior moves is divided into three groups: (1) Low mobility (no prior moves), (2) Moderate mobility (one or two prior moves), and (3) High mobility (three or more prior moves), we see that those with the lowest mobility are the most likely to relocate (Table 24). Indeed, the average mobility for the relocatees is not significantly different from the average mobility of the nonrelocatees (1.76 vs 1.77 prior moves, respectively).

However, the likelihood of staying once relocated is significantly related to prior mobility (Table 25) in that those with higher mobility were more likely to be stayers (an average number of prior moves for stayers of 1.95 vs 1.57 for leavers). But this conclusion must be qualified by the fact that it holds true primarily for the married relocatees (Table 26) who had higher average prior mobility than the singles. Also, the proportion of marrieds increased with each level of prior mobility, from 40 percent among those with low mobility to 45 percent of the moderately mobile to 64 percent of the highly mobile. We seem to have evidence that those with prior mobility experience were more likely to be able to adjust to yet another move and remain in the new area than were those with no or limited prior mobility experience. Prior mobility experience in addition to the responsibility and commitments of marriage results in higher likelihoods of relocation stability. The young and the single, who had lower prior mobility than the older and married relocatees and also lower relocation stability, may have been motivated by a sense of adventure, of trying something new. "If it did not work out, well, nothing much lost."

Table 24: Prior Mobility and Relocation Rates of Project Applicants (Screening)

Prior Mobility	Relocatees	Nonrelocatees	Total	Relocation Rates
Low	134	31	165	81%
Moderate	561	272	833	67%
High	173	72	245	71%
Total	868	375	1243	70%

Table 25: Prior Mobility and Relocation Stability of Relocatees (Screening)

Mobility	Stayers	Leavers	Total	Stay Rate
Low	57	77	134	42%
Moderate	258	303	561	46%
High	105	68	173	61%
Total	420	448	868	48%

Table 26: Mobility, Marital Status, and Relocation Stability of Relocatees (Screening)

	Married		Single		
Mobility	Stayers	Leavers	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Low	30	23	27	54	134
Moderate	130	111	128	167	536
High	74	36	31	31	172
Total	234	170	186	252	842

C. Work Orientations of the Relocatees

So far we have indicated that the stayers and leavers differed somewhat in their motivations to relocate and that those motivations were related to their subsequent decisions to stay once relocated. Now we turn to their work experiences while on their relocation jobs. The relocatees were asked to comment about their relocation jobs; for 90 percent of the stayers that meant their current job. The research focus was to uncover work experiences that were conducive to relocation stability as well as those experiences that may have precipitated leaving the relocation job as well as the demand area.

Job Satisfaction

We begin by considering satisfaction with the relocation job and then by exploring possible factors related to that satisfaction. Table 27 presents the distribution of responses regarding relocation job satisfaction. We see that significantly more of those who stayed in the area were satisfied with their relocation job (89% vs 79%). However, the enthusiasm for the relocation job was moderate to lukewarm for the area leavers; 54 percent of them liked their relocation jobs "somewhat," while only 33 percent of the stayers responded similarly. While approximately 84 percent of the relocatees liked their relocation jobs, only 36 percent remained on that job (119 of 326). Apparently, satisfaction with the relocation job did not play a significant role in retaining the relocatee on that job. Table 28 shows that those who left the demand area did not differ in their job satisfaction from those who left their relocation job but stayed in the demand area. Other factors seemed to have been acting to affect the decision to remain in the area.

Overtime Work

The opportunity to work overtime in order to supplement income may have served as a factor facilitating staying in the area. Table 29 shows the incidence of overtime work among the relocatees. We see that the stayers were more likely to have worked overtime than the leavers. Before concluding that those who worked overtime were more likely to be stayers than leavers, another alternative conclusion must be explored---that overtime work accrued to those with seniority, and those without seniority had little or no opportunity to work overtime. Table 30 shows the incidence of overtime work for two groups of stayers and two groups of leavers. There we see that the incidence of overtime work increased with time on the job. Consequently, it cannot be concluded that the lack of overtime work opportunities was a factor in the decision(s) to leave the demand area or the relocation job. A reasonable conclusion is that overtime work was a benefit of staying on the job.

Promotions

Opportunities for promotion should serve as an incentive for staying on the job. Table 31 illustrates the extent of promotions received on relocation jobs. The incidence of promotions for stayers was significantly higher than for leavers (50% vs 10%). As in the case of overtime work opportunities, we found that the opportunities for promotion increased with time on the job (Table 32). Consequently, receiving a promotion was probably more of a benefit for staying on the job than an inducement to stay. Those who left their

Table 27: "How well do(did) you like your relocation job?"
(Survey I)

Degree of Satisfaction	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Like(d) very much	97	37	134
Like(d) somewhat	56	81	137
Dislike(d) somewhat	15	20	35
Dislike(d) very much	3	12	15
Total	171	150	321

Table 28: "How do(did) you feel about your relocation job?": Two groups of area stayers vs the area leavers
(Survey I)

Degree of Satisfaction	Job Stayers	Job Leavers	Area Leavers	Total
Like(d) very much	80	17	37	134
Like(d) somewhat	32	24	81	137
Dislike(d) somewhat	5	10	20	35
Dislike(d) very much	2	1	12	15
Total	119	52	150	321

Table 29: Overtime Work and Relocation Stability
(Survey I)

Overtime	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	119	66	185
No	52	84	136
Total	171	150	321

Table 30: Overtime Work and Relocation Stability
(Survey I)

	Stayers		Leavers		
Worked Overtime	Original Job	Left Original Job	Left Between 1-6 Months	Left Prior To 1 Month	Total
Yes	81	38	42	24	185
No	38	14	34	50	136
Total	119	52	76	74	321

Table 31: Promotions and Relocation Stability
(Survey I)

Promotions	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	83	15	98
No	84	135	219
Total	167	150	317

Table 32: Promotions and Relocation Stability
(Survey I)

	Area Stayers		Area Leavers		
Promotions	Job Stayers	Job Leavers	Late Leavers	Early Leavers	Total
Yes	73	10	13	2	98
No	44	40	63	72	219
Total	117	50	76	74	317

jobs probably would have gotten promotions if they had stayed. Promotions and wage increases generally accrue after a period of time on the job, after the quality of work has been assessed. Most of those who left their jobs did so within nine months after being hired, long before they were likely to have received promotion. Yet it is worthy of note that about three-fifths of those who did stay on their jobs had received promotions prior to the follow-up interviews.

Labor Union Membership

One of the components of working in industrial establishments is the likelihood of joining a labor union. Labor union membership may be related to job stability in that the benefits of union membership include steady work, rights to overtime work, promotions and pay increases, and so on. Also, labor unions are a form of social organization that provide close, primary social relationships with which a worker can identify and in which a worker can find social acceptance and support vis-a-vis management. Tables 33 and 34 provide tentative support for the above assumptions that labor union membership was conducive to staying in the area and on the job. However, nonmembership in unions seems unrelated to staying in the area but is related to staying on the job, that is to say, nonmembers were equally likely to stay as leave the area, whereas, nonmembers were more likely to leave than stay on their jobs.

Absenteeism

Absenteeism, especially if it is chronic, is a good indicator of a person's commitment to the job or of problems outside of the place of work. Table 35 shows there was no relationship between being absent from work and staying in the area. Additional analysis not shown here indicates no relationship between absenteeism and likelihood to leave the job. However, Table 36 indicates a relationship between the reasons for being absent from work and the likelihood of staying in the area. If the relocatee was absent for any reason other than illness, he was likely to leave the job and the area.

Prior Work Experience and Training

Part of job satisfaction is the opportunity to work at a job for which one has been trained or for which one has had prior experience. Table 37 shows that those who had and were able to utilize prior job training were more likely to be stayers than those who were not able to use that training. In addition, while stayers were not differentiated from leavers on the basis of length of prior work experience related to their relocation jobs, Table 38 shows that there is a slight positive relationship between the length of past experience and the likelihood of staying. Therefore, we can somewhat cautiously conclude that those who were able to use their prior training and experience were more likely to be stayers than those who were not able to use that training and experience.

Reasons for Accepting Relocation Job

As a final commentary on the work experiences and orientations of the relocatees, we turn to the reasons for acceptance of the particular job to

Table 33: Labor Union Membership and Relocation Stability
(Survey I)

Membership	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	33	12	45
No	138	138	276
Total	171	150	321

Table 34: Labor Union Membership and Relocation Stability
(Survey I)

Membership	Job Stayers	Area Stayers	Area Leavers	Total
Yes	28	5	12	45
No	91	47	138	276
Total	119	52	150	321

Table 35: Absenteeism and Relocation Stability
(Survey I)

Ever Absent	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	48	40	88
No	123	109	232
Total	171	149	320

Table 36: Reasons for Absenteeism and Relocation Stability (Survey I)

Reasons	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Personal matters	6	9	15
Transportation	4	8	12
Illness	33	13	46
Layoff	2	3	5
Didn't like work	0	2	2
Labor dispute	1	0	1
Other	2	3	5
Total	48	38	86

Table 37: Utilization of Prior Job Training and Relocation Stability (Survey I)

Used Training	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	82	38	120
No	31	35	66
Total	123	73	196

Table 38: Previous Work Experience Related to Relocation Job and Relocation Stability (Survey I)

Months Previous Experience	Stayers	Leavers	Total
0-6 Months	130	120	250
7-12 Months	15	11	26
Over 12 Months	24	18	42
Total	169	149	318

Table 39: Reasons for Accepting the Relocation Job and Relocation Stability (Survey I)

Reasons	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Only Job Available	85	96	181
Pay Was Good	35	35	70
Use Training	36	10	46
Other	15	8	23
Total	171	149	320

Table 40: Reasons for Accepting the Relocation Job and Relocation Stability (Survey I)

Reasons	Job Stayers	Job Leavers	Area Leavers	Total
Only Job Available	49	36	96	181
Pay Was Good	26	9	35	70
Use Training	33	3	10	46
Others	11	4	8	23
Total	119	52	149	320

which they were relocated. Table 39 shows that the leavers were more likely than the stayers to have taken the relocation job because "it was the only job available." Seen from another direction, those who accepted the relocation job because it was the only one available were more likely to be leavers than stayers. In addition, those who gave other reasons (pay, training, and so on) were more likely to be stayers than leavers. These relationships are even stronger when seen from the perspective of likelihood of leaving the relocation job (Table 40) as distinct from leaving the relocation area (Table 39). Those with the highest likelihood of staying in the area and on the job were those who took the relocation job in order to use or apply their prior work-related training experience. Apparently, the large portion, over half, of the relocatees moved because a job was available but then decided that job availability was less important than other considerations.

D. Social Relationships

One of the most important factors in decisions to move is the gain or loss of important social relationships, sometimes referred to as psychic costs and benefits. Examples would include loss of friendships in the old community and the necessity to establish new ones in the new area, the adjustments required for school-age children when they change schools, changes in types and patterns of leisure and civic activities, and so on. In the case of relocatees, if the individual perceives the benefits or anticipated benefits of remaining in the new area as outweighing the costs, he will be likely to remain in the area; however, if the costs (or losses) are perceived as outweighing the benefits, he will be likely to leave the area, all other things being equal.

Considering that the follow-up surveys were conducted after the leavers had left the new area, we will be restricted to (1) speculating about the impact of changes in social relationships upon their decisions to leave, and (2) focusing more upon social benefits and costs associated with staying and leaving.

Friends

Table 41 shows that the stayers were more likely than the leavers to have as many friends as they would have liked to have had. Several interpretations of this relationship are possible: (1) the stayers were in the new area longer than the leavers and, therefore, had more time to form new relationships; (2) due to the high incidence of marrieds among the stayers, they may not have "needed" as many friends as the singles who were predominant among the leavers; (3) the leavers may have had relatively few or an insufficient number of friends in their old area prior to relocation, and the number of friends was reduced somewhat by the separation due to relocation; or (4) the leavers did not have many friends prior to relocation, and the number of friends was not changed after returning to the old area. Table 42 indirectly suggests that the latter has some validity in that the leavers and the nonrelocatees were very similar in their satisfaction with the numbers of friends they had.

Neighbors

The extent to which the establishment of social relationships with neighbors played a significant role in the decision to relocate is indicated in Table 43 where we see that stayers were much more satisfied with their neighbors than were the leavers. A loss in satisfactory neighbor relationships occurred for the leavers. The stayers and the nonrelocatees were similar in their satisfaction with neighbor relationships, while being more satisfied than the leavers. Geographic stability appears necessary in order to establish satisfactory relationships with neighbors; that is, one must be a member of a neighborhood in order to be accepted or to be able to have a feeling of "belonging."

Social Participation

Getting involved in social activities normally requires the establishment of contacts through which frequent social activities outside the home are initiated and maintained. Visiting, participating in clubs and organizations, and going to parties all require being accepted by the members of the club or organization. Tables 44 and 45 show that, while the stayers were more likely to limit their scope of social relationships to their family, they were probably more effective in establishing meaningful relationships outside the home when they attempted to do so. The leavers, being primarily single, had to search more for relationships and were not very successful in their attempts. Returning home did not improve the social activities opportunities for the leavers (compared with the nonrelocatees). It is possible that geographic stability was not an important factor in the establishment of these opportunities. It is more likely that the stayers were more extroverted than the leavers or the nonrelocatees, or that the stayers were more able to move about outside the home because more of them had cars, or that the leavers would have been highly active socially if they had not relocated.

Social Acceptance

Important to having a healthy self-concept and to being well-adjusted psychologically is that people accept the individual in a positive, supportive manner, that they consider him to be important, and to hold him in high esteem. While Table 46 does not address all these points, it does indicate the extent to which the relocatees and nonrelocatees thought others accepted or viewed them in a positive manner. The stayers and nonrelocatees were virtually alike in their responses, while the leavers differed from both of these groups in that stayers and nonrelocatees were more prone to respond that they were accepted by others, while the leavers were prone to see non-acceptance by others. A possible conclusion here is that the lack of acceptance or perception of such is a reaction to "failure" on the relocation job and area. Another conclusion might be that the self-concept of the leavers was such that they held themselves in low esteem and transferred this low self-esteem when asked how others thought of them (Table 47).

Family Adjustment To New Area

One of the most important comsiderations for married individuals when they move to a new area is how satisfied their families are with the new

Table 41: "Do you have as many friends as you would like to have?" (Survey II)

Responses	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	128	88	216
Undecided	12	17	29
No	55	49	80
Total	171	154	325

Table 42: "Do you have as many friends as you would like to have?" (Survey II)

Responses	Leavers	Nonrelocatees	Total
Yes	88	37	125
Undecided	17	10	27
No	49	28	77
Total	154	75	229

Table 43: "Are your neighbors the kind of people you want for friends?" (Survey II)

	Stayers	Leavers	Nonrelocatees	Total
Yes	146	109	59	314
Undecided	13	10	9	32
No	12	35	7	54
Total	171	154	75	400

Table 44: "Do you generally limit your social life to members of your family?" (Survey II)

	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	80	51	131
Undecided	1	2	3
No	90	98	188
Total	171	151	322

Table 45: "Do you have the opportunity to be as active socially as you would like?" (Survey II)

	Stayers	Leavers	Nonrelocatees	Total
Yes	127	77	41	245
Undecided	13	21	9	43
No	31	54	25	110
Total	171	152	75	398

Table 46: "Do your friends think of you as an important person?" (Survey II)

	Stayers	Leavers	Nonrelocatees	Total
Yes	82	49	36	167
Undecided	60	56	24	140
No	26	48	15	89
Total	168	153	75	396

Table 47: "Do you often wish you were someone who is more fortunate than you are?" (Survey II)

	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	51	94	145
Undecided	13	9	22
No	107	51	158
Total	171	154	325

Table 48: "Are your wife and children satisfied where you are living now?" (Survey II)

	Stayers	Leavers	Nonrelocatees	Total
Yes	116	52	35	203
Undecided	8	3	0	11
No	13	24	7	42
Total	137	79	42	258

Table 49: "Are your children accepted in the school they attend?"
(Survey II)

	Stayers	Leavers	Nonrelocatees	Total
Yes	74	29	20	123
Undecided	12	10	1	23
No	1	3	1	5
Total	87	42	22	151

Table 50: Satisfaction with schools the children attend(ed) in new area
(Survey I)

Satisfied	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	44	10	54
No	2	1	3
Total	46	11	57

Table 51: "Are adequate facilities available for the care of your children while you work?"
(Survey II)

	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	88	43	131
Undecided	4	4	8
No	6	3	9
Total	98	50	148

area. Part of that satisfaction is satisfaction with the schools which the children attend and the extent to which care of the children is available to allow the parents to leave the house for work, shopping, visiting, and so on. Table 48 indicates that the families of the stayers were much more satisfied with the area in which they were living than were the families of the leavers. In addition, the families of the nonrelocatees were somewhat more satisfied with where they were living than were the families of the leavers (who returned home). This lack of satisfaction with the area is apparently not due to the acceptance of their children in school (Table 49), satisfaction with schools the children attended in the new area (Table 50), or the adequacy (Table 51) or the type (Table 52) of child care facilities or arrangements in the new area.

Ties With Home Community

One of the most outstanding differences between stayers and leavers was the extent to which the stayers were able to "break off", as it were, their ties with their home community. Table 53 shows that (1) those who returned home for frequent visits were likely to return home to stay, (2) those who visited only occasionally were not likely to return home permanently, and (3) some of those who went home one time did not return to the new area (19 of the 28 leavers who said they did not visit back home did not consider their return a visit but rather a permanent return---68 percent of those 28 who made this "permanent visit" left within one month after beginning their new relocation job).

However, that the stayers were more effective in severing or minimizing the attraction of ties with their old community is not supported by the following facts: (1) One-third of the stayers said they would return home if suitable employment could be found there, and (2) Two-thirds of the leavers said they would be willing to relocate again. If the leavers had had more support through relatives in the new area, they may have been less likely to return (Table 54). The effects of attachments to old community upon relocation stability are not clear at this time, though it appears that the strength of old community ties can be and are lessened or compensated for by the establishment of supportive relationships in the new area.

E. Economic Factors

The broad area of economic factors includes those factors that served either as inducements to stay in the area or were benefits from staying in the area. Our focus here will be to determine if the relocatees were able to obtain an improvement in their levels of living via relocation and to show how changes in those levels of living and accompanying life styles impacted upon their decisions to remain on their relocation jobs and in the relocation area. Therefore, the "factors" of concern in this section will be (1) sufficiency of income, (2) pre- and post-relocation wage differentials, (3) housing costs and arrangements, (4) transportation costs and arrangements, and (5) level of living as indicated by purchase of household appliances and conveniences.

Table 52: Care for Preschool Children While You Work
(Survey I)

Type of Care	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Home	48	17	65
Relatives	8	4	12
Day care, Nursery	8	2	10
Other	5	2	7
Total	69	25	94

Table 53: Visits to Home Area
(Survey I)

Frequency	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Very often	32	48	80
Occasionally	113	51	164
No visits	16	28	44
Total	161	127	288

Table 54: Relatives in the New Area

Relatives	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	98	49	147
No	65	82	147
Total	163	131	294

Table 55: "Is your present income sufficient to meet the normal needs of your family?" (Survey II)

Response	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	127	70	197
Undecided	6	4	10
No	34	54	88
Total	167	128	295

Table 56: "Is your present income sufficient to meet your needs?" (Survey II)

Response	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	113	61	174
Undecided	13	4	17
No	43	72	115
Total	169	137	306

Income

Tables 55 and 56 indicate the extent to which relocatees considered their present income sufficient to meet their needs. The first table refers to the sufficiency of present income to deal with the normal, day-to-day needs of relocatees and their families, while the second table refers to the sufficiency of present income to deal with "normal," possible intermediate or long-range needs of the relocatees and their families. Some conclusions from these tables are that those who stayed in the new area were likely to see their income as being sufficient, whether for normal, everyday needs, or for other needs. The income of the relocatees, whether stayers or leavers, was seen as more sufficient for those everyday needs than for the "nonnormal" needs. The discrepancy between the likelihood that normal and nonnormal needs would be met was virtually the same for both groups of relocatees (9 percent for the stayers and 12 percent for the leavers). The role played by this discrepancy in the decision to stay seems not to have differentiated between stayers and leavers.

Table 57 summarizes the wage data presented in Tables 14 and 15 in the section of motivation to relocate. Analysis of variance tests showed that, while relocatees were not differentiated on the basis of pre-relocation wages, they were differentiated in terms of starting relocation wages (Table 57). Furthermore, both groups experienced significantly average increases over their pre-relocation wages, with the stayers having the higher average increase. However, it cannot be concluded at this time that the likelihood of staying increased *pari passu* with increases in the level of relocation wages, decreases in the level of pre-relocation wages, or increases in relocation wages relative to pre-relocation wages. All that can be said at this time is that stayers were more likely than leavers to have been recruited into higher paying jobs, and that both groups were likely to be earning substantially more on their new jobs than on their prior jobs. Provisional analysis of wage data indicates no basis for predicting likelihoods of staying in the area in terms of wage differentials. If the leavers were hired for low paying jobs and they accepted those jobs because "they were the only ones available" (Table 40), then it is not very surprising that many of them left.

Many relocatees returned home to find employment there (Table 58). Those who returned were about as likely to find employment as those who did not relocate at all. While their wages back home were no better than their relocation wages (Table 59), this lack of improvement was possibly compensated by other factors such as lower costs of living, being near family, being in a community or environment that was "known," and so on. In essence, the economic costs of returning were probably offset by social or psychic gains that were considered to justify the return. However, that the economic costs were offset is not very clear when we note that almost three-quarters (76%) of the returnees said they would move (relocate) again if the conditions of the new job and area were acceptable.

Table 57: Average per Hour Wages Before and After Relocation
(Screening)

Group	Average Old Wage	Average New Wage
Stayers (N)=	$1.90 (262)	$2.56 (421)
Leavers (N)=	$1.84 (315)	$2.22 (433)

Table 58: Employment Status of Returnees and Nonrelocatees
(Survey I)

Group	Returnees	Nonrelocatees	Total
Employed	91	46	137
Unemployed	64	29	93
Total	155	75	230

Table 59: Average Weekly Wage at Termination from Relocation Job and Average Weekly Wage of those Employed at Follow-up
(Survey I)

Job Leavers	Termination Wage	Current Wage
Still in new area (N=)	$95 (52)	Not Available
Returned to old area (N=)	$82 (155)	$79 (91)

Housing

Stayers and leavers had different housing arrangements before relocation (Table 60). Those who were either buying or renting before relocation were more likely to be stayers than those who were living rent-free before relocation. This is partially due to the likelihood that those who were buying or renting were either (1) more experienced with handling income and budgets and/or (2) more experienced in taking responsibility in handling their own affairs by living away from parents and relatives. This experience was apparently carried over, as it were, to the new area in that it made adjustments either minimal or easier to cope with. Related considerations that should not be ignored are that those who were living rent-free were predominantly young and single without major family or debt responsibilities.

Since the costs of housing in the new area are available only for the stayers, we cannot directly compare the stayers and leavers in terms of those costs. However, we can indirectly infer the impact of housing costs on stability by examining the extent to which the two groups were paying housing costs prior to relocation (Table 60) and by assuming that those with this prior experience would ameliorate the problems of adjusting to this item in the family budget. In view of the low starting wages of the leavers and that about three-fifths (61%) of them had to assume housing costs paid by those low wages, it is not very surprising that many of them left.

A reflection of the economic conditions of the relocatees is found in the adequacy of their housing. Table 61 presents the responses of the relocatees with regard to their needs. We see that those who remained in the new area were more likely to find their housing to be adequate than those who returned home. However, we are not able to conclude that the adequacy of housing was a factor in the decision to remain in the area (or leave it), because this question was posed about present housing of the returnees, not the housing in the new area. It is clear that housing was more adequate in the new area than in the home area.

While we do not have comparative data for the leavers, we can show that the stayers benefited considerably by relocating in that their likelihoods of home ownership increased after relocation. Table 62 presents the before and after relocation housing arrangements for the stayers. There we see significant changes in the patterns of housing arrangements. Before relocation, 6 percent of the stayers owned or were buying a house or trailer; after relocating, 17 percent were owning or buying. Although we cannot discern if those who owned before were owners after, the net increase of 11 percent was statistically significant. The overall shift from living rent-free with relatives or others (-31%) was also statistically significant. It is somewhat surprising that so few of the stayers (6%) were living rent-free in view of the fact that 60 percent of them had relatives in the new area (Table 54).

Table 60: Housing Arrangements Prior to Relocation and Relocation Stability (Screening)

Type	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Buying/Own	26	22	48
Renting	207	148	355
Free	186	271	457
Total	419	441	860

Table 61: "Is your house adequate for you and your family?" (Survey II)

Responses	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	154	91	245
Undecided	0	4	4
No	16	42	58
Total	170	137	307

Table 62: Changes in Housing Arrangements for Relocatee Stayers (Screening and Survey I)

Type of Housing	Before Relocation (Screening)	After Relocation (Survey I)	Net Change
Buying or own	10(6%)	28(17%)	+11%
Renting	95(57%)	128(77%)	+20%
Rent free with relative, relatives or others	61(37%)	10(6%)	-31%
Total	166(100%)	166(100%)	0%

Transportation

The economic costs of transportation to and from work are manifested through car payments and maintenance, public transportation fares, shares of car pool costs, or no payments through walking or riding free with others. Indirect costs are those incurred through not arriving on time (loss of pay and/or job) and through paying transportation costs of spouse who remains at home or must find other means of transportation if she also works.

The comparative costs of transportation for the relocatees are summarized in Table 63 where we see that, not only did those who left their relocation jobs pay more per week for transportation, they also paid more relative to their average weekly salaries. One of the reasons for the higher costs for the job leavers is that they had to rely upon others in order to get to and from work (Table 64).

In view of the fact that a large portion (about two-fifths) of the relocatees did not have their own means of transportation for the journey-to-work in the new area, it would be useful to note if this lack of personal means of transportation and associated costs significantly affected stability in the new area. Table 65 summarized the various modes of transportation used by the relocatees in the new area. We see immediately that those who remained on their relocation jobs were the most likely to have personal means of transportation; they did not have to depend upon others for getting to and from work. The extent to which the relocatees were likely to remain on their original jobs and in the new area as related to mode of transportation used is illustrated in Table 66. There we see that (1) those with own means of transportation were the most likely to stay on their jobs; (2) those who had to ride the bus, take a taxi, or walk to and from work were the least likely to remain on their jobs; and (3) those who rode with others ("car pools", friends, etc.) were intermediate in likelihood of remaining.

Conclusions regarding the likelihoods of leaving the area are somewhat different: (1) those who had to ride the bus or take a taxi were about as equally likely to remain as those who had their own means of transportation; (2) those who walked to work were the least likely to remain in the area; and (3) those who rode with others were intermediate in likelihood to remain in the area.

Another way of looking at the impact of means of transportation upon stability is the extent to which transportation was related to being employed. Although the cross-tabulation for relocation stability, employment status, and transportation is not available, we can nevertheless see that having a car is important for stability and continued employment (Table 67). In comparing this table with Tables 65 and 66, we see that not only is having a car important for staying in the demand area, but it also is important for staying on the relocation job and for being employed elsewhere.

Table 63: Transportation Costs per Week of Relocatees Relative to Average Weekly Wages and Relocation Stability (Survey I)

Group	N	Transportation Costs per Week (1)	Average Relocation Starting Wage (2)	Transportation As % of Wages
Stayed on original job	119	$4.69/week	$110.51/week	4.2%/week
Left original job	52	$7.48/week	$ 85.39/week	8.8%/week
Left demand area	155	$5.14/week	$ 79.87/week	6.4%/week
Total	326	$5.35/week	$ 91.94/week	5.8%/week

Table 64: Car Ownership and Relocation Stability (Survey I)

Car Ownership	Job Stayers	Job Leavers	Area Leavers	Total
Yes	73	18	46	137
No	45	34	103	182
Total	118	52	149	319

Table 65: Means of Transportation Used in the Demand Area and Relocation Stability
(Survey I)

Means	Area Stayers		Area Leavers	Total
	Job Stayers	Job Leavers		
Personal auto	73	18	46	137
Rode with someone	37	18	68	123
Bus	1	10	6	17
Taxi	0	3	2	5
Walked	7	3	27	37
Total	118	52	149	319

Table 66: Means of Transportation and Relocation Stability
(Survey I)

Means	% Stayed in Area	% Stayed on Job	Total
Personal auto	66%	53%	137
Rode with someone	45%	31%	123
Bus	65%	6%	17
Taxi	60%	0%	5
Walked	27%	19%	37
Total	53%	37%	319

Finally, the adequacy of transportation was assessed by the relocatees themselves (Table 68). Those who remained indicated a majority approval of their means of transportation, while those who returned indicated less satisfaction with their transportation arrangements. They left because of inadequate transportation, and their transportation did not meet their requirements back in the old area.

Standard of Living

One of the objectives of relocation is to provide opportunities to improve the relocatee's standard of living through employment and exposure to better community facilities. In Table 69 we can see how the relocatees assessed their living conditions in the area of the relocation job. Fifty-six percent of the relocatees indicated their level of living had improved, while 30 percent saw no change and 14 percent saw a deterioration of level of living when compared with what they had in the old area. The stayers were significantly more likely to assess their new conditions as being better than their old living conditions (71% vs 39% of the leavers). Those who found their standard of living improved were the most likely to stay, while those who found no change or a worse standard of living were the most likely to leave. What needs exploring is what caused those leavers who experienced improvements in standards of living to return home.

The standard of living of the stayers was improved as indicated by the proportion of them who were able to purchase household appliances and conveniences after moving to the new area (Table 70). While comparable information is not available for the leavers, we nevertheless have support for the above conclusion that standards of living were improved for the stayers and could conceivably have been similarly improved for the other relocatees had they remained long enough to obtain credit and/or sufficient income to purchase such appliances and conveniences.

By way of summary of this presentation of the economic factors of relocation stability, some observations on changes in level of living of relocatees will be made. Table 71 shows the responses of Project clients regarding whether they were able to live the way they wanted to, given their present situation.

It is readily apparent that the stayers were more likely to be living the way they wanted to than were the leavers or those who did not relocate. In addition, the leavers and the nonrelocatees were virtually alike in their responses: 37 percent of the leavers vs 36 percent of the nonrelocatees indicated they could live the way they wanted; other similarities were obtained for the other two responses. The implication seems to be that relocating and remaining in the demand area result in improved life styles.

Table 67: Means of Transportation Used by Job Leavers and Employment Status (Survey I)

Means	Employed	Unemployed	Total	Percent Employed
Personal auto	49	15	64	76%
Rode with someone	40	44	84	48%
Bus	11	4	15	73%
Taxi	2	1	3	67%
Walked	19	11	30	63%
Total	121	75	196	62%

Table 68: "Is adequate transportation available to you for travel to work, etc.?" (Survey II)

Responses	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Yes	163	119	282
Undecided	1	1	2
No	5	32	37
Total	169	152	321

Table 69: Changes in Living Conditions (New Area vs Old Area) and Relocation Stability (Survey I)

Response	Stayers	Leavers	Total
Better	118	60	178
No change	30	66	96
Worse	18	26	44
Total	166	152	318

Table 70: Household Appliances and Conveniences Obtained by Stayers in the Demand Area (Survey I)

Item	Item Before Relocation (1)	Item After Relocation (2)	Difference (3)	Neither Before Nor After (4)	Percent Increase ((3)/(3+4)) (5)
House	33	71	38	100	+28%
Stove	28	62	34	107	+24%
Refrigerator	33	87	54	82	+40%
Freezer	20	65	45	104	+30%
Air conditioner	22	33	11	138	+ 7%
Television	40	75	35	96	+27%
Hi-Fi/ Stereo	46	101	55	70	+44%
Dishwasher	16	49	33	122	+21%
Bedroom Suite	32	47	15	124	+11%
Living room Suite	42	104	62	66	+48%

Table 71: "In your present situation can you live the way you want to?" (Survey II)

Responses	Stayers	Leavers	Nonrelocatees	Total
Yes	100	56	27	174
Undecided	15	15	9	39
No	56	80	38	183
Total	171	151	74	396

Chapter 5: Summary of Results

The Mississippi Labor Mobility Project, STAR, Inc., achieved a relocation rate of 66 percent of those screened for relocation and 87 percent of those applicants offered a job in the demand area(s) after an interview with the prospective employer(s). Approximately one half (48%) of the 869 relocatees remained in the demand areas six months or more. Three quarters (75%) of the relocatees were found to be employed at the time of the special follow-up interviews conducted for this report. Somewhat over one third (37%) of those interviewed were employed at their original relocation job, while 11 percent were employed elsewhere in the demand area(s). The relocatees who left the demand area and who were employed at the time of the interview were employed at about the same rate as those interviewed applicants who did not relocate (about 60%). Improved employment opportunities were found to be significantly associated with relocating and remaining in the new area.

A. Relocatees

The likelihood of relocation can be summarized as follows: (1) no differences in relocation rates related to sex, race, or marital status; (2) likelihood of relocation decreases with age, family size, and duration of prior unemployment; and (3) likelihood of relocation increases with level of education.

B. Stayers

There were two kinds of stayers: (1) those who remained on their original relocation jobs (70%) and (2) those who left their jobs but remained in the new area (30%). The combined group were the prime focus of the "stayer" analysis although they appeared to have had different relocation experiences. The summary of the results related to relocation stability will follow the format of Chapter 4. The order of the summary is as follows: demographic characteristics of relocatees, motivational bases for relocating, work orientations and experiences of relocatees, social relationships affecting relocation stability, and economic factors related to stability.

Demographic Characteristics

The stayers and leavers were not differentiated on the basis of race and duration of unemployment (prior to relocation). However, they were differentiated on the basis of the following: (1) females more likely to stay than males; (2) marrieds more likely to stay than nonmarrieds; and (3) the likelihood of staying increased with level of education, age, and family size of the relocatee(s).

Motivation to Relocate

Those who relocated for reasons other than their state of unemployment were the most likely to stay. Those who relocated primarily because they were unemployed were more likely to be leavers than stayers. The likelihood

of staying decreased with the number of times the individual applied for relocation services. The number of job interviews involving the individual was unrelated to stability once relocated. Those who indicated they had relatives in the new area were more likely to be stayers than those who indicated to the contrary. The wage history of relocatees did not differentiate stayers and leavers in that they were earning approximately the same prior to screening. However, those who were offered higher paying relocation jobs were the most likely to stay. A large portion of the relocatees were apparently willing to relocate for wages that were not significantly higher than their previous hourly wages. Those with no prior labor market experience and those who were not able to find jobs in their home area had the highest likelihoods of relocation and staying. Those who had been on layoff just prior to screening were somewhat reluctant to move and had relatively low stay rates if they did move. Those relocatees who were indebted at the time of screening were more likely to stay than those who were unencumbered with debts; the amount of indebtedness did not seem to be of significance in differentiating stayers and leavers. The lack of savings was unrelated to likelihoods of relocating but did differentiate the relocatees in that those with savings prior to relocation were more likely to be stayers than were those without prior savings. Finally, those with prior histories of geographic mobility were more likely to be stayers than those with no moves to relocation.

Work Orientations and Experiences

Significantly more of the stayers liked their relocation jobs than did the leavers. While 84 percent of the relocatees were satisfied with their relocation jobs, only 36 percent of them remained on that job. Those who remained on their original jobs were more likely to have worked overtime. Working overtime seems to have been more of a benefit of stability than a factor in job-leaving. Similar results were obtained regarding promotions on the new jobs. The effect of labor union membership upon relocation stability is unclear. Stayers and leavers were not differentiated on the basis of absenteeism. Those who were able to use prior work and training experiences in their relocation jobs were more likely to be stayers than those who were not able to utilize those experiences. Those with the highest likelihood of staying in the area and on the original job were those who took the job in order to use or apply their prior work-related training experiences. Those who relocated because the job in the new area was "the only job available" were more likely to be leavers than stayers.

Social Relationships

Those who had relatives and/or were able to form new friendships in the new area were more likely to remain than those who had neither relatives nor friends there. The formation of satisfactory relationships with neighbors resulted in increased likelihoods of remaining. Stayers were less likely than leavers to search for meaningful social activities apart from their family members; this is related to the high incidence of marrieds among the stayers and nonmarrieds among the leavers. The stayers had a more positive, healthy self-concept in that (1) they saw themselves

as acceptable to others, and (2) they were fairly well satisfied with who they were. Those whose families were satisfied with the new area were more likely to be stayers than those whose families were not. This satisfaction with the new area was unrelated to adequacy of schools or child-care facilities or arrangements in the new areas. The stayers were more able to "regulate" their contacts with friends and relatives in the old area in that their visits were more likely to be occasional rather than frequent. However, in spite of their satisfaction with the new area, one-third of the stayers said they would return home if suitable employment could be found there.

Economic Factors

The stayers were more likely to be earning incomes sufficient to meet their needs than were the leavers. Furthermore, they began their new jobs at higher average wages than the leavers. Those who remained in the area were more likely to find or retain employment than those who returned home or went elsewhere. Relocatees without prior housing costs experience were not very likely to adjust to them and remain in the new area. Those relocatees who remained increased their likelihoods of home ownership the longer they stayed. The housing of the stayers was found to be more adequate than that of the leavers; this is qualified by the fact that the housing of the leavers was that in which they were living after leaving the area. Those who had their own means of transportation were more likely to stay than those who did not. The standard of living of the stayers was improved considerably, and those who found their standard of living better than that back in the old area were more likely to be stayers than leavers. That the standard of living for the stayers was improved was indicated by the high incidence of purchases of numerous household appliances and conveniences. When interviewed about their satisfaction with their style of life, the stayers were significantly more satisfied with theirs than were the leavers. Relocating and remaining in the new area seemed to have resulted in improved life styles.

We have presented only the highlights of the analysis. More refined statements of results here would have been unnecessary in view of the purpose of this summary: set the stage for broad policy and research recommendations that follow in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Policy and Research Recommendations

Based upon the analysis conducted for this report, several policy and research recommendations are offered here. The focus of the recommendations will be factors contributing to relocation stability. They are subject to subsequent modification in forthcoming reports which cover a broader range of questions related to relocation stability and numerous other aspects of a successful worker relocation program.

A. Policy Recommendations

1. More family counseling is needed prior to and after relocation. Evidence indicates important roles for the spouse and family in contributing to stable relocations.

2. Work for the spouse of the relocatee should be found if she wants to work in the new area and/or if she and her husband feel work is necessary; both spouses could be taken for job interviews in the new area. They both should be taken to the new area, regardless of who has the job interview.

3. If one of the basic premises of relocation, that unemployment is undesirable, is valid, then some way(s) should be found to encourage higher rates of relocation. The rate of relocation is of course constrained by the number of job vacancies available within the administrative area of the mobility organization. The Mississippi Project relocated two-thirds of its eligible and willing applicants.

4. Potential relocatees should be given a choice among a wider range of possible areas of relocation destination, of employers, and of jobs. Present evidence indirectly indicates some dissatisfaction with the lack of choice and suggests the possibility that a decision to relocate, based upon a range of choices, might result in a higher probability of relocation success.

5. Relocatees should be aided in finding housing close to arteries of public transportation if personal transportation (including car pools) is not available; loans or grants for down payment on the purchases of a car/truck might be considered.

6. Demand area housing that does not signify a substantially higher allocation of family income (as compared with housing costs in the supply area) should be found and/or construction encouraged. A large proportion of the relocatees moved by the Project during 1970-1971 paid no housing costs prior to relocation; nonpayers of housing costs prior to relocation were highly likely to be leavers.

7. Relocations should be made with a relatively short distance from the area of original residence of the potential relocatee, yet beyond a reasonable commuting distance (for those with access to personal transportation or car pools). Evidence not presented in this report indicates that those who relocated closer to home were more likely to be stable relocations than those who relocated relatively far away; the exceptions to this recommendation, as suggested by the same data, were the single males under 21 years of age.

8. Given that female unemployment rates throughout Arkansas and Mississippi are much higher than those for males, high priority might be given to relocating more females, based upon their low job opportunities in rural areas and their high likelihood of relocation success (female relocatees were more likely to be successful in relocation than were male relocatees).

9. Additional emphasis upon relocating married individuals is needed because of their relative reluctance to move and their high likelihood of relocation success once moved. In addition, their costs of unassisted migration are much higher than that for singles, and consequently would be more unlikely to move unassisted. While program costs are higher for married relocatees, the payoffs seem to justify the expenditures.

10. Means to finance cars for relocatees without them at the time of relocation should be explored.

11. Housing closer to places of employment should be found for those without own means of transportation.

12. Higher paying jobs need to be actively developed. If changes in traditional sources of jobs are required to find better paying jobs, then this should be considered.

13. More extensive "pre-relocation orientation" seems advisable to provide information about the new area, the job, social activities, physical facilities, and the like.

B. Research Recommendations

1. Further research needs to be done to discern the factors that cause potential relocatees to decide against relocation after initial indication of a willingness to relocate; once discerned, ways should be found to eliminate, if possible, those factors (obstacles?); one-fifth of Project applicants did not go for job interviews.

2. Further research on the definition of relocation success is needed; multiple criteria are to be explored, e.g., staying in the demand area, staying on the relocation job, employment status, income gains, job and community adjustments, etc. These criteria must be developed in forms that are measurable and monitorable on a regular basis in order to determine program performance levels.

3. More investigation of the content/nature of "prior work experience" in relation to relocation success is needed.

4. Some techniques for assessing the social adjustment likelihoods of potential relocatees should be investigated for use in (a) determination of immediate eligibility for relocation and (b) prediction of relocation success.

5. If job satisfaction is to be used as a meaningful indicator of relocation success, some refinements in the measurement of job satisfaction must be made.

6. Additional research needs to be done to determine the factors that differentiate those who leave their relocation job and return home and those who leave their relocation job but stay in the demand area. Do those who leave the area look for other jobs in the area before leaving? Can those who stayed in the area but left the relocation job be classified as relocation "failures"?

7. More analysis is needed of those relocatees who applied numerous times for relocation yet had a high return rate, in spite of their apparently strong motivation to obtain relocation assistance.

8. A systematic analysis of establishments that employ relocatees is required in order to assess, among other things, the following: (a) working conditions and work requirements in the company, (b) employers' attitudes toward assisted mobility, and (c) the kinds of firms that are most conducive to stable relocations. Focus upon the place of work of the relocatee(s) is essential because the environment is important in that it interacts with the characteristics of the individual to affect his behavior and decisions.

9. Research is needed to "match" communities of origin with communities of destination. An environmental restraint upon the individual and the effective operation of subsidized worker relocation is the match or lack of match between the community of origin (supply area) of the relocatee and the community of destination (demand area) to which he moves. It is possible that if the relocatee considers the new community to be an "improvement" over the community of origin, he will be likely to stay in the new community, even if he does not stay on the relocation job.

10. Research on job search activities in the demand area after leaving the relocation job could provide additional information about reasons for leaving the area.

11. Research is needed to compare the merits of different program designs. Some of the findings in this report may have been due to the uniqueness of the operations model under which the Project operated.

12. Determination of who should get relocation services, based upon the combined considerations of relocation need and program payoff, is desirable.

13. Related to #12, the question of whether relocation should be linked with manpower programs in general or in particular needs further exploration. Data analyzed for this report but not included herein seem to suggest that certain types of manpower trainees benefited more from relocation than others, while other types of trainees benefited very little.

14. Research is needed to provide a substantially abbreviated screening instrument to allow prediction of relocation payoffs on an individual basis as well as a program basis. The instrument would be short, self-coding, and amenable to rapid computer storage and retrieval. Some of the elements of such a form are included in this report.

15. Procedures dealing with those who are failure prone need to be explored to provide alternative program services to minimize the likelihood of relocation failure.

APPENDIX

Appendix Table 1: Summary of Mississippi Labor Mobility Project, STAR, Inc., Activities: March 1, 1970 - November 30, 1971

Project Activity	Total	%	%	%
Total Contacted	5806	100.0	--	--
Screened eligible for RAA and willing to relocate	1453	25.0	100.0	--
Applicants sent for job interviews	1267	21.8	87.2	100.0
a) Accepted job offer	1092	18.8	75.2	86.2
b) Were not offered job	165	2.8	11.4	13.1
c) Refused job offer	10	0.2	0.7	0.8
Total relocatees who received some RAA monies	960	16.5	66.1	75.8
a) Total relocatees who received all RAA monies for which they were eligible	793	13.6	54.6	62.6
b) Total relocatees who left Demand Area prior to receiving all RAA monies for which they were eligible	167	2.9	11.5	13.2
Local Placements	596	10.3	--	--
Total relocated or locally placed	1556	26.8	--	--

Appendix Table 2: Location and Employment Status of Relocatees Interviewed for Special Followup Analysis

Status	No.	%
Employed at original job	119	36.5
Left original job	207	63.5
---Still in demand area	52	16.0
---Employed	35	10.7
---Unemployed	17	5.2
---Left demand area	155	47.5
---Employed	91	27.9
---Unemployed	64	19.6
Still in demand area	171	52.4
Employed in demand area	154	47.2
Total	326	100.0